

The Hartford Seminary Foundation

Bulletin



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An Illustrated Armenian Gospel of the XIV Century

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The Armenian manuscripts in American Collections have not yet formed the subject of a systematic survey. A certain number were included by Seymour de Ricci in his *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, and by H. Buchthal and O. Kurz in their *Hand List of Illuminated Oriental Christian Manuscripts* (London, 1942); the illustrations of several important examples have been discussed at various times by the present writer but except for the manuscripts of the John Frederick Lewis Collection, in the Free Library of Philadelphia, there is no complete list or catalogue of the holdings of different museums or libraries.

A two-days' visit this spring gave me the opportunity to prepare a brief catalogue of the Armenian manuscripts in the Case Memorial Library of the Hartford Seminary Foundation, and to examine more closely the manuscripts which are of special interest to the art historian.

As will be seen from the check list at the end of this article, the manuscripts consist for the most part of scriptural and liturgical books, of collections of homilies and commentaries. Three copies of the Four Gospels date in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the remaining manuscripts belong to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The first is a copy of the Four Gospels written in 1658 at Cafra, in Crimea (No. 4), which has interesting full page miniatures of the principal scenes of the life of Christ and numerous marginal miniatures; the second is a *Menologium* or collection of the Lives of Saints for the entire year (No. 5). This is, to my knowledge, the only complete example in the United States; a fourteenth century copy in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (Ms. 622) has only the Lives of Saints for six months.

* * *

The copy of the Four Gospels (No. 3) is the most important manuscript of the collection from the artistic point of view. It is a handsome volume, written on vellum, for the archbishop of Siunik', Hohannes Orbeli, a member of the feudal family of the Orbelians who held vast domains in the province of Siunik'; the name of the owner is recalled in the colophon and also written under the headpiece of the Gospel of Luke (folio 153). The work was done at the monastery of Noravank' by the scribe Momik, assisted by Poghos and later by Hohannes. The greater part of the writing had been completed by 1307, when the principal scribe had serious trouble with his eyes, but he recovered his sight in 1331 and wrote the colophon in which he gives us interesting information concern-

ing the copy of the manuscript and the lords of Siunik'. At that time the manuscript had passed into the possession of another member of the Orbelian family, the bishop Step'annos-Tarsäidj, who had it "adorned with gold and silver," by order of prince Burt'el Orbelian, the head of the feudal family. This probably refers to a silver gilt binding which was later replaced by a leather binding.

The miniatures and illuminations painted in brilliant colors against a gold background are the work of T'oros of Taron, mentioned in the colophon, and who has also signed his name under some of the miniatures. T'oros of Taron was the principal miniaturist of the fourteenth century in the province of Siunik', in the northeastern part of Armenia, and his work is well known through a number of manuscripts which have survived. The Four Gospels of Hartford is the only manuscript illustrated by him preserved in an American library.

Following the custom which goes back to the Early Christian period, we find on the opening pages ornate frames drawn around the letter written by Eusebius to Carpianus—explaining the concordances between the Four Gospels—and around these concordances or Canon tables themselves. The richly decorated rectangles are supported by columns covered with geometric designs. Some of the capitals and bases of these columns are formed by floral motifs, by birds and crouching animals, but on folios 2v to 9 we find in turn, a human head, and the heads of a lion, an ox, and an eagle. The intention of the artist is clear, he wished to represent the symbols of the four Evangelists; a symbolical intention may also be detected on folio 11 where he has drawn, next to the rectangle, a stag with a large cross raised between the antlers. This, no doubt, refers to the legend of Saint Eustace. On this same page a smaller cross is drawn above the rectangle between confronted cocks. According to the symbolical interpretation of the decorations of the Canon Tables, composed by different Armenian writers of the Middle Ages, the cocks figure the prophets, for the cocks announce the dawn just as the prophets announced the coming of Christ.

Elsewhere the artist has given free reign to his imagination. All kinds of birds are perched on the trees and floral motifs drawn next to the columns and rectangles, or they stand above the rectangles, confronted or drinking water out of a vase or a fountain. Imaginary creatures also appear. There are human headed birds, or sirens: one of them has a beautiful peacock's tail; another holds a falcon with one hand and presents a fruit with the other. A winged lion, with a feminine head, whose wing and tail end in an animal head, sits on its haunches, holding a candle. On another page a similar creature is shown climbing one of the columns which support the rectangle. On another page again we see a seated monkey, holding a candle and eating a fruit. Birds, sirens and lions

also appear occasionally among the floral motifs which fill the rectangles, but the decorations of these rectangles consist principally of floral scrolls and three-lobed floral motifs arranged to form different geometric designs. In the lunettes of the rectangles drawn above the Letter of Eusebius, the painter has represented Eusebius dressed as a bishop, and Carpius as a young beardless man. These types, which differ from the ones usually adopted in East Christian art, are characteristic of the manuscripts illustrated by Toros of Taron, and they have been imitated by some of the later Armenian painters.

The portrait of the Evangelist precedes each one of the Gospels. Matthew, Mark and Luke are seated in front of an architectural setting; an open book is placed on a lectern; the various implements of the scribe lie on the desk, and each one of the Evangelists holds on his knees a large sheet of vellum on which he is about to write. The words Jesus Christ and Mother of God are written in Greek uncials on the open book; but on the large sheet held by Matthew the first word of his Gospel is written in Armenian. These three portraits conform to the usual iconographic types of East Christian art; for the fourth Evangelist as well our painter has adopted the composition generally used in Byzantine art after the eleventh century, namely John, standing in front of rocky mountains, and dictating to his disciple Prochoros.

The first page of each Gospel is richly decorated. A large headpiece, filled with floral and geometric designs, with animals and with figures, which will be discussed later, occupies more than half the height of the page; an interlacing floral motif, surmounted by a cross or the eagle is drawn in the outer margin, the first line of the text is written in zoö-morphic letters and the initial of the first three Gospels is formed each time by the symbol of the Evangelist. However, for the Gospel of John, instead of using only the eagle, our painter has also introduced the symbols of the other Evangelists. The eagle forms the loop of the Armenian letter I; the vertical bar is composed by the angel, the ox, and the lion, standing one above the other, and the uppermost figure—the angel—supports with raised arms the enthroned Christ.

Two of the headpieces are of special interest. In the middle of the headpiece of the Gospel of Matthew (fol. 14) the artist has represented the Virgin, enthroned, nursing the infant Jesus; she wears a jewelled crown on her head and a long embroidered veil hangs down over her shoulders and covers the greater part of her tunic. Two archangels, dressed in the Byzantine imperial costume, stand at the sides, above the rectangle, holding each a chalice and a lance or a sword. Under the Virgin's throne, two gold seals have been drawn, the writing on one is illegible but on the other one can read the name of the owner of the manuscript. In a corresponding place in the headpiece of the Gospel of

Luke (fol. 153) the enthroned Virgin, wearing the traditional *maphorion*, holds the Christ Child in her arms and presses His cheek against hers; two tall candles are placed next to the throne and, above the rectangle, two angels, seen in bust, are turned towards the Virgin, their hands extended in the gesture of adoration. The name of the owner is written under the headpiece.

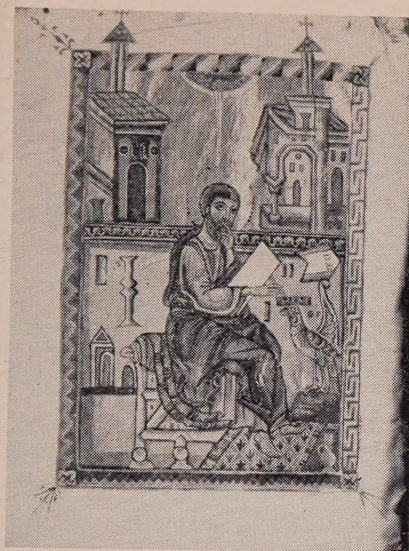
The iconographic type of this group of the Virgin and Child, usually designated as the Virgin of Tenderness, is well known in Byzantine art but the first image has a different origin. It is true that the nursing Madonna had originated in the East; the earliest examples appear in Coptic art, from the seventh century on it may be seen in a number of Byzantine paintings, and later in the art of the Balkan countries and in Russia. But in all these representations the Virgin wears the eastern *maphorion* which covers her head, while in the present example the Virgin is crowned and this type is distinctly a European variant. The paintings of T'oros Taron in other manuscripts show the intrusion of also other western iconographic themes which he probably saw in the manuscripts brought by the Latin missionaries who came to Armenia, or who resided for a time in Armenia, on their way to the court of the Mongol khans.

Floral designs, birds and sirens are drawn in the margins of the text at the beginning of each lesson of the Gospels. Occasionally these ornamental motifs are replaced by vignettes which are directly connected with the text. We see for instance a small building when the Temple of Jerusalem is mentioned; the head of John the Baptist on a platter; the blind men kneeling; a shepherd with his flock; Christ carrying the cross. To illustrate the marriage at Cana, the painter has represented the bride and bridegroom, wearing crowns decorated with a cross; and seated under a stylised arbor; the bridegroom holds a cup in his hand and the bride a small cross. Further down in the margin the "six waterpots of stone" are set in a row.

The numerous ornate initials add to the artistic interest of the manuscript. Some are decorated with floral motifs, but more often we find letters formed by one or two birds, by lions and other animals, by sirens and by human figures.

The Hartford manuscript is one of the earliest works of T'oros Taron and a significant example of the art of miniature painting in Armenia during the fourteenth century. The great variety of ornamental motifs shows the imagination and inventiveness of the painter, and his skill is apparent in these decorative designs as well as in the figure representations. Among the latter the image of the crowned nursing Madonna is of particular interest, for it is a witness of the alert curiosity of a man who was not bound by traditional types, but could appreciate the works of foreign artists and seek in them a new source of inspiration.

Sirapie Der Nersessian



MATTHEW



LUKE

Photo by H. Malootian

Check List of Armenian Manuscripts

1. *Four Gospels*, A.D. 1222. Written at the monastery of P'os, in Cilicia, by the scribe Grigor. One illuminated headpiece.
2. *Four Gospels*, A.D. 1299. Written by the scribe Step'annos. Miniatures and illuminations added later.
3. *Four Gospels*, A.D. 1307-1331. Written by the scribes Momik, Poghos and Hohannes and illuminated by T'oros of Taron at the monastery of Noravank', province of Siunik'. Miniatures.
4. *Four Gospels*, A.D. 1658. Written at Cafa, in Crimea, by the scribe Nikoghayos. Miniatures.
5. *Menologium*, A.D. 1659. Written at New Julfa-Ispahan by the scribe Step'annos. Miniatures.
6. *Calendar of Feasts*, A.D. 1658. Written by the woman scribe Eghisabet', near the monastery of Tat'ev, province of Siunik'.
7. *Perpetual Calendar*, A.D. 1664. Written by the scribe Baragham Kaghetsi.
8. *Calendar*, A.D. 1732.
9. *Hymnal*, XVII century.
10. *Collection of Canticles*, XVI - XVII century.
11. *Poems and Canticles*, XVII century.
12. *Prayer book*, XVII century. Written by the scribe Astvadsatur.
13. *Sermons and other texts*, XVI century. Some of the sermons are on the principal feasts, for instance on the Presentation of Christ or the Dormition of the Virgin; others are on moral topics. There is one sermon by John Chrysostom, another by Ephrem Syrus.—Readings from the Old and New Testament—Extracts from the Lives of the Desert Fathers—Brief chronologies to the end of the 14th century.
14. *Miscellaneous texts*, XVII century. The principal texts are as follows: Kirakos vardapet, Homily on the sacraments. Questions of a young man on the virtuous life. Story of the hermit Macarius and the conversion of the emir of Nisibis.
15. *Miscellaneous texts*, XVII century. The principal texts are as follows: Calendar. Informations on the *Loca Sancta* of Palestine. Versified story of Jacob and Joseph composed by Astvadsatur in A.D. 1642, in Venice; poems by the bishop Hakob and others.

16. *Story of the Seven Wise Men and the King's son* (Sindbad).
17. *Cyril of Jerusalem*. Explanation of the Divine Liturgy and Orations. A.D. 1706. Written in Cilicia by the scribe Ladjin.
18. *Thomas of Medsop'*. XVII century. History of Tamerlane followed by other texts. History of Thomas of Medsop' by Kirakos *vardapet*. Observations on the books of the Old and the New Testament. Story of Muhammad.
19. *Miscellaneous texts*, XVI century. Grammatical treatise by Arak'el of Siunik'—Commentaries on the categories and the *De Interpretatione* of Aristotle by Hohannes Orotnetsi and Grigor Tat'evatsi—Homily on Good Friday—Homily on Holy Saturday by Saint Augustine.
20. *Phylactery*, A.D. 1749.
21. *Phylactery*, A.D. 1796.
22. *Phylactery*, Printed in A.D. 1796. Numerous engravings.

To Bear Witness to the Light

[This Chapel address was delivered by Dr. Merrill N. Isely, missionary of the American Board in Turkey, on May 3rd, 1955 in commemoration of the lives of three American Board missionaries who died in Turkey, and whose names are engraved on tablets in the Alumni Chapel.]

In this Alumni Chapel are engraved the names of three Alumni who gave their lives in Turkey. In the 120 years of the Seminary and its associated schools, literally hundreds of graduates have gone out to be "Witnesses to the Light." As time moves on, the details of their witness—Hartford's share in the witness of God's Kingdom around the world—may be lost to those of us on the campus. Along with the files of the many theses produced by men who have been in these halls, there are marvelous records of the lives of Hartford men and women around the world. But these records are not preserved in man-made files alone. Their sacrifices are known in the lives of those men whom they have met in the far corners of the earth. They are treasured in the secret of the hearts of those with whom they have witnessed to God's Love.

GEORGE PERKINS KNAPP

The Reverend George Perkins Knapp is the first of the Hartford graduates named on the bronze tablets in the back of the Chapel. He was born of missionary parents in Bitlis, Turkey, on January 13, 1863, nearly one hundred years ago. He graduated from Harvard in 1887, and from Hartford Theological Seminary in 1890. During that same year, he was ordained, commissioned, married and arrived in Bitlis, the place of his birth, as an American Board Missionary. He worked in Bitlis, Constantinople and Harpout almost entirely with and for the Armenian Christians of those cities. He died suddenly in the home of an Armenian pastor in Diyarbakir in eastern Turkey on August 10, 1915. Thus, he gave 25 years of service for one of the races of the Turkish Empire, a witness to those people whose language he spoke as his mother tongue and whom he dearly loved.

DANIEL MINOR ROGERS

The Reverend Daniel Minor Rogers and his wife May Christie graduated from Hartford, he in the class of 1906 and she in the class of 1908. He came from New Britain, Conn., while she had been born in Turkey. They sailed to Turkey as Missionaries of the American Board to a work which she knew well in St. Paul's Institute, the American College of Tarsus, under the leadership of her parents, Dr. and Mrs. Christie. In the Spring of 1909, varied forces of nationalism, as well as racial and religious

struggles brought about startling and tragic events in the old Turkish Empire. The Young Turk Party came into being and reforms were published on paper, yet the Sultan in efforts to maintain himself permitted conditions such as the Adana Massacres. When these started, Minor Rogers, with another Tarsus College teacher, a Mr. Herbert Gibbons, and his father-in-law were in Adana for a Central Turkey Mission meeting, at the Girls High School. All around them many Christians were being killed and their properties destroyed. Minor Rogers was carrying water to put out a fire in a house near by when he was shot, April 15, 1909. Truly he was killed by those he was striving to serve!

His wife had stayed at home on the Tarsus College compound which became crowded with 4,000 refugees (Armenian Christians) who had come to the College for protection. She was also very busy with her tiny baby, now Dr. Minor Rogers, practicing medicine just a few miles north of Boston. Several years later, in the middle of World War I, Mrs. Minor Rogers married again—Dr. William L. Nute, another Tarsus College teacher, and is now serving the sick and needy through the American Clinic in Adana, less than a mile from where her first husband was killed, and where more than 95 percent of their patients are Turkish people, as events have very largely removed the Christian minorities. In a very real sense the witness of Daniel Minor Rogers is still continuing in Turkey today. His wife writes: "Minor's greatest desire had been to work for the Moslems. He had been inspired by Dr. Zwemer." On his grave stone on the Tarsus campus, in Turkish, is the text of his sermon, preached that week in Adana: "Except a grain of wheat fall to the ground and die, it abideth by itself alone, but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit."

JAMES PERRY

The Reverend James Perry of the Class of 1915 was killed near Aintab, Turkey, enroute into the country. (Aintab is where we have been stationed since 1921). It was during the aftermath of World War I that the Reverend James Perry went out to the Near East as a Y.M.C.A. secretary. He first landed in Constantinople and there got in touch with one of the Sultan's Deputies, who represented the province of Aintab, later known as Victorious Aintab, or Gaziantep. This Deputy gave him a note of introduction to the Director of Education in Aintab, saying that the Reverend Perry was going to Aintab to help start a Y.M.C.A. there, and even though such an organization was largely for the Christians, i.e. the Armenians, that James Perry would do all that was possible to help a Turkish Young Men's Organization. James Perry, along with another Y.M.C.A. Secretary, the Reverend Mr. Johnson, then went by boat to Beirut and entered Turkey from the south via Aleppo, Syria. They took the risk of driving up to Aintab some 90 miles north without military

protection. They were wearing khaki-colored uniforms and were mistaken for French soldiers. The engine of their Ford car began to boil, so they stopped at a small stream some eight miles from the city of Aintab, to get water. Beside that stream they and the two Armenian drivers were shot by irregular troops from the hills nearby. The bodies of those four killed on the road were later brought into the city by Dr. Lorrin Shepard and placed in the sacred lot on the Central Turkish College compound, at the western edge of the city of Aintab. James Perry had really never had a chance to be a "witness" to the ideals of his Master in Turkey. A bronze tablet similar to the one on the wall of this chapel marks Perry's grave in our sacred lot.

By strange coincidence, the commander of the irregular troops was the Director of Education to whom the letter of introduction had been written. One can imagine how surprised he was when the note taken from the pocket of James Perry was brought to him, giving information about those whom his own troops had killed. The writer of the note was his father-in-law to be, although later events prevented their marriage. The Director of Education knew French fairly well, and when the French withdrew, he left with them and lived in the Turkish quarter of Aleppo, Syria for thirty years. It was a city of some 300,000 people, made up of many racial and religious groups. The Director of Education, as a young student in Constantinople, had bought a Turkish Bible for a gold pound. Now, as he practiced law under the French in that Arab city, he had the opportunity to read and study it with liberal Christian friends, some of whom had come from his own ward in his home town 90 miles across the border to the north. Thus, he learned to know the Bible and how the New Testament interlocks with the Old. Finally the time came when he was forgiven and he could return home to Aintab. Just a little over a year ago, he told me how he happened to have been connected with the death of the Reverend James Perry almost 40 years earlier. He told how he had been stunned by it all. Later he added, "If all the world would only accept the ideals of Jesus, Heaven would come on this earth." So, it is likely that James Perry's witness has been much more than one would have thought. He was killed "by those he sought to serve. They knew not what they did."

Most of us, whether we are in the foreign field, or here at home, are not called upon to witness with our lives, as in the case of the six specially remembered by these tablets. In many ways our lives are much the same, no matter the field or the continent. The world is rapidly becoming one in the mechanical gadgets which are so common here in America. Our task as a "Witness" is not to introduce the gadgets of the West. We are challenged, to "Witness to the Light"—giving a true picture of Jesus, so

that a fellowship of true believers may enfold the hearts of all men, everywhere.

Too often the "Witness" of the Church has been tarnished or even blacked out. Unfortunately the church in the days of Constantine the Great, became involved in politics and dogma. The "Witness" was not in a correct *focus* to give a true picture of Jesus. In the days of the Prophet Muhammad it was badly blurred. If he had received a true "Witness" to Jesus, his longings would have been satisfied and he would have been a fiery evangelist. The Bible would then have been the book of Arabia. The Crusaders did not lift the curtain that divided their world, because their "Witness" was very rarely in the spiritual realm. In this last half century, the world has witnessed its two greatest World Wars, between so-called "Christian Nations." How can the Moslem, the Hindu, the Buddhist or even the Pagan gain a true picture of the "Witness to the Light"?

In Turkey, "the old sick man of Europe" now with truly free elections has become the strongest stable democracy in the whole Near and Middle East. Ataturk led a series of far reaching revolutions in the life and thought of his people. The power of the Mosque over the State has been more completely broken in Turkey than in any other Moslem land, which means 1/7th of the population of the earth. An old pattern of 1300 years duration has been set aside. Despite the limitations of a secular government in a Moslem land, the service of the American Board has continued through its schools and medical work. In all the world, including the Moslem World, and including Turkey, today, there is a renewed interest in religious ideals. Not through our institutions, but through public interest more Bibles and portions have been sold in Turkey this past year than at any time in the day of the Republic.

The "Witness to the Light" in Turkey must be the same as the Witness everywhere. It must be to the saving power of Jesus Christ and God's Love as revealed through Him. We must overcome the Road-blocks of Misunderstanding on both the part of the Moslems and the Christians. I would challenge you to reinforce the efforts to confront Moslems with a true picture of Jesus, either through your own service or through support so that the "Witness to the Light" may shine bright.

"He came to bear witness to that light, that all might believe through Him."

Two Poems

BY JAMES DIXON DOUGLAS

These two poems were written by James Douglas (Ph.D., 1955) who will be teaching Church history at the University of St. Andrews, Scotland, this fall. The abstract of his dissertation is included in this issue. These two pieces, however, present a delightfully different facet of his mind.

TO ALICE ELIZABETH, WITH LOVE

Dear little bundle, lying there
So quiet in your cot;
You cannot understand or care
What pain to me you've brought.

As soon as I had heard you'd come
Amid the Glasgow fogs,
I rapidly worked out a sum
By calculus and logs.

(O artless little Alice,
Yet strangely cruel withal,
'Tis sad to see such malice
In one so very small!)

You marvel what my words can mean?
Well, here's the wrench to me:
When you are only seventeen,
Then I'LL be forty-three!

REMEMBER LOT'S WIFE

As he stepped from the train with an ex-King of Spain
(Who'd been fearfully sick on the way),
He proceeded to speak with his tongue in his cheek,
Being heard *ex cathedra* to say:
"You have never resolved the enigma involved
In the nationalisation of steel,
And you can't even state the approximate weight
Of the Suffragan Bishop of Deal.

"One could scarcely suppose from the cut of your nose
That you had a poetical bent—
Or that one who was toast of the Barbary Coast
Should have settled in Burton-on-Trent.
Yet you cannot explain the illogical strain
In the laws which encompass our life
Which permits you to wed—when your uncle is dead—
Your mother's deceased brother's wife."

A giraffe stood apart (he'd been there from the start)
And augmented his knowledge the while
By a battle of wits about ponies in pits
With the Chairman of Plymouth Argyle.
But the speaker's last jest had evoked his protest,
For it piqued his professional pride,
And this garrulous bore was a jolly sight more
Than a Latter Day Saint could abide.

"I can picture the end, my ubiquitous friend—
For an infinitesimal fee
You'll declaim the Koran and the Beveridge Plan
And the licensing laws of Capri.
But my grandmother's niece (may her soul rest in peace),
Tell me, what's her relation to *me*?
Or, enlighten me, who, was the Mayor of Crewe
In the year eighteen-seventy-three?"

At this acid attack the Verbose One drew back
And admitted the facts of the case
Had been proved to the hilt, although shamelessly built
On a pseudo-Hegelian base.
The giraffe took his win with a diffident grin,
And his manner was much to be praised
As he stood on one ear to acknowledge the cheer
Which a passing Carthusian raised.

A Letter From Germany

THOMAS KELLY

Göttingen, February 21, 1925.

My dear Professor Gillett:—

Your most welcome letter deserved a much more prompt reply than this. The fact is, I have been putting off writing to you until I could undertake an account of some of the German thought here today. But you know how that is,—one always wants to learn just a little bit more before he puts it down on paper, with the result, often, that he doesn't undertake it at all. But there are one or two directions of thought here that are very interesting.

One generalization that I think is fairly true of much of the philosophical and theological thought here, is, that there is a return to a certain degree of confidence in the power of speculative thought to deal with ultimate problems. That does not mean a return to any Hegelian ambitions to solve the universe-riddle from the vantage point of an easy chair. But as over against the earlier emphasis upon empirical science and inductive procedure, there seems to be a swing toward metaphysical speculation, frankly acknowledged to be such.

But, without building further on such a wide generalization, I want to tell you about one theological-philosophical school or tendency that is very much discussed here. At the risk of telling you "old stuff," here goes. It is the Barth school. Barth is now professor of Theology here at Göttingen. In 1919 he was an obscure country preacher, until he published his book, the "Römerbrief," a commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. Then he sprung immediately into fame. The fundamental emphasis is upon the transcendence of God, with its accompanying notion of Grace. He, and his school, attack, not *one* aspect of modern thought, but what he attacks is the mistaken emphasis upon "psychologismus" and "historismus," which, he feels, leads to subjectivism. Schleiermacher's emphasis upon the necessity of the personal experience of religion seems to this school quite dangerous. Mysticism, pietism, and romanticism are the three main strands of thought which, in these days, lead toward a religion of pure inwardness and, hence (they say), of subjectivism. Therefore, they are at one in opposing Ritschlian theology, which seems to be pragmatic, and hence, subjectivistic, but they agree with his antagonism to mysticism. With such hostility to such determining thinkers as Schleiermacher and Ritschl, they are, you see, striking at the very roots of modern developments.

They also deplore the present interest in psychology, in so far as it leads to attempted explanations of religion. American psychology of religion seems to be the incarnation of wickedness. It is too bad to find that they lump all American thought into one category, or one tendency, namely, the Leuba-Ames-King school. At any rate, these men, say they, represent the *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole subjective tendency which is most strongly developed in America. Excitement over value-philosophy has also contributed to this *inwardness* that they so deplore.

Now, say they, we want something *objective*! (As though this was a new demand! As though Americans themselves didn't want the same thing!) We want something that is lifted above the mere accident of experience, which is always fragmentary, incomplete, and biased. We want something of such compelling awe-inspiring completeness, that we can only bow before It in awe and reverence, something that is lifted above human frailty,—yes (it seems to me they want) something lifted above human comradeship and understanding. Modern thought has been emphasizing the need of *working with God* for the betterment of men. This, say the Barth people, is a presumptive, anthropomorphic "Beschränkung" of our notion of God, a view only possible when we are too subjectively inclined. We need to return to the recognition that God is *higher* than we, yes, that after we have travelled upward toward Him with all our powers of human thought, we must still acknowledge that He is inaccessible, unattainable. He is not so much of a person (of course, they don't like the notion of a personal God, but would apparently put Him even a few stages higher than the "super-personal" notion of God!), He is not so much of a person that we can depend upon Him coming to the aid of sinful man. All that He does for us is an act of grace. Our only access to Him is by faith, which itself is dependent upon grace. You see here a return to an emphasis similar to the Reformation doctrine. In fact Luther, this school thinks, is nearer the ideal Christian than St. Francis of Assisi, who, they say, is the idol of the modern "experience-Christians."

I am enclosing a two-column article on Barth which you will find interesting, I believe. It is written by Professor Piper, whom we are to visit this afternoon here. He mentions E. Thurneysen and F. W. Gogarten as the two theologians who stand nearest to him. He speaks of a volume of sermons *Komm Schöpfer Geist*, as giving the simplest presentation of the attitude. But *Der Römerbrief* seems to be the creative book. Piper also makes the statement that the excitement aroused by Barth's theology is only comparable to the effect Ritschl had.

But these are more specifically on the theological side. On the philosophical side the most significant man I know is Emil Brunner. His book *Erlebnis, Erkenntnis und Glaube* is a wonderfully compact and clear

statement of the position. I have been reading it and have had difficulty in stopping when meal-time comes. It has only about 125 pages, and I want to send you a copy for your own personal library. Brunner is Privat Docent in Zürich. They say he has a new book on Mysticism, but I have not seen it.

Now on this whole development. I must confess I haven't been sucked into the stream. It seems to me the reassertion of an age-long-recognized attitude, which perhaps may be needed to correct certain tendencies of the present day. But it certainly isn't new and I can't bring myself to throw myself enthusiastically into *one* current of today and try to make myself believe that here is what the world has been waiting for! It is a fine emphasis. But I feel that Brunner could make his case so logically fine and clear cut only by giving something of a caricature of the opposite side,—the "experience" religion. The whole school is a reaction, the antithesis which follows the thesis, and I feel that we might do well to go over the ground on both sides more thoroughly to seek for a synthesis. Not that an eclecticism should follow. But any system that so neglects immanence for the sake of transcendence can make a logically airtight argument, but is certainly neglecting that fullness of reality which is wider and richer than thought. It may be a theology needed for the times, but, if so, it has a pragmatic basis rather than a "full-truth" basis.

Now perhaps that is enough on this school. It is the one I know most about, or have become interested in.

Of course, there is what is called the Marburg School, the Neo-Kantians, Cohen and Natorp. But that school seems to have run its day. In fact, Natorp practically abandoned his old position in the last 2 or 3 years of his life. I think I wrote you that I met him last July. He died in August or September. He was a beautiful old man, bowed over with study, frail, absent-minded. But in spite of having all the outward characteristics of a typical German professor, he was one of the leading spirits in the German Youth Movement!

Professor Rudolpf Otto of Marburg was at Hartford this past fall, was he not? You will see in *Das Heilige* the evidence of this same reassertion of the powers of thought, though he, too, finds that ultimately thought cannot deal with the fullness of God. But it leads him also toward the reaffirmation of the more-than-personal, the inexpressible aspects of Divinity.

You mention something about the school of phenomenology. I don't know much about it. I find that everyone recognizes it as a school, but when one asks what its fundamental tenets are, the answer always is that it is so split up, and has so many representatives of such different shades of thought that it is not possible to say what the main streams are. Professor Husserl of Freiburg is the original figure. His book *Logische*

Untersuchungen is, I believe, the best statement of the position. But it is bulky and technical, and too forbidding for me, so far, at least as long as I keep as busy as we are now. But from what I hear of it, I have the feeling that there is something akin to scholasticism in it, although I haven't found anyone else who says that. But every description I hear impresses me the same way. It may mean that I continually make the same mistakes in interpreting the explanations. But there is something about the search for the thing-in-itself, the universal underlying the accidents of quality, the dealing with a world of universals that are logically knowable, that gives me the "scholastic" feeling. At any rate it goes with the wide generalization, that there is a reassertion of the worth-whileness of pure thought here in Germany.

But this same tendency means that metaphysical interest is exceedingly acute. To the German soul, metaphysical problems seem to be pastime, and now that a few decades of empirical studies and exact investigation have furnished data to correct the rather hasty speculations of earlier idealism, they, with that background, seem to be returning to the joys of heel-on-the-table thought. There *is* this great worth in it all. The problem of *explanation*, when is a thing "explained," is carried back beyond the tendency of historical criticism, for example, to rest content in an account of the development of an idea. That is the basis of the Barth-Brunner fight against *Historismus*. It is not the progressive unfolding, through long history, that *explains* anything. Ultimately, antecedents need explanation as well as consequents. And this, of course, leads into metaphysics. But this is old ground, which we have discussed together before.

I hadn't meant to drag out this letter to such length, for I know you put a premium on conciseness. But we are having a *wonderful* year, all one could wish (except for absolutely free time for study). Here in Göttingen I want to find out more about Lotze's home life, his letters, etc. I find how valuable it is for an American to meet German thinkers whose *methods of thought* are a revelation to us. Aside from the content of German thought, their metaphysical interest itself is a training to anyone who wants to work with philosophy. I'll forbear in the matter of discussing German politics just now, except to say that the whole situation now is a rotten mess! Allies and Germans together have certainly played the baby together.

Many many thanks for your long and welcome letter, and for your account of the opening of the Seminary.

With best greetings to your wife and yourself, I am

Yours,

THOMAS KELLY

Thomas Raymond Kelly, 1893-1941

Thomas Raymond Kelly was born in Chillicothe, Ohio, June 4, 1893. He attended Wilmington College (B.S. 1913) and Haverford College (1914). He entered Hartford Theological Seminary in 1916 but because of World War I he interrupted his theological study to volunteer for Relief Work among the German prisoners in England from June 1917 to February 1918. He received his B.D. from Hartford Theological Seminary in 1919 and went to Wilmington College to teach Bible. Feeling the need for further graduate work, he returned to Hartford and spent three years with Professor Arthur Lincoln Gillett, majoring in philosophy, and receiving his doctorate in 1924. At this time the Society of Friends had established several Relief Centers in Germany which they had turned over to the German Social Agencies. It seemed wise, however, to maintain the Centers in Berlin and Vienna and to transform them into international centers. This transition was a delicate one and it required a Quaker personnel of considerable spiritual maturity and wisdom. Thomas Kelly was therefore chosen because of his deep interest in spiritual problems, his sympathy for all who were troubled in spirit and his ability to interpret the religious message emphasized by the Friends. He remained here until his call to Earlham College as Professor of Philosophy, in 1925. He died January 17, 1941.

His published works include *A Testament of Devotion* (Macmillan, 1941), *Experience and Reality in the Philosophy of Emile Meyerson* (Princeton, 1937), and several works on Quaker faith and practice.

Abstracts of Doctoral Theses Accepted 1954 - 1955

AHMAD AMIN AND LAJNAT AL-TA'LIF WA AL-TARJAMAH WA AL-NASHR (COMMITTEE ON AUTHORSHIP, TRANSLATION AND PUBLICATION); A STUDY OF THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY RENAISSANCE OF EGYPT.

KENNETH L. CROSE [Ph.D.]

Contemporary Egyptians have come to utilize the term *Al-Nahdah* (Renaissance) to describe that educational and literary awakening with which this thesis is concerned. The writer has therefore followed this usage. The study gives special place to the contribution that Ahmad Amin and *Lajnat al-Ta'lif* have made in the general context of twentieth century Egyptian life and letters.

The renaissance in education necessitated a break with the traditional Muslim educational philosophy as exemplified in the great collegiate mosque of Al-Azhar and its affiliated *ma'abid* (institutes). Early attempts were made to introduce a new philosophy through two schools; *Dar al-'Ulum* (a teacher training school) and *Madrasat al-Quda'a* (a school for lawyers and judges of the *Shari'ah* courts). The National University was founded in 1908 on the pattern of the European schools of higher learning, while in the same quarter of the century the government began primary and secondary schools on the Western model. By mid-century the greater part of education in Egypt was of the new order.

The renaissance in literature owed much to a group of leading Syrian and Lebanese writers who emigrated to Egypt after 1882. These greatly strengthened existing efforts initiated during the rule of Muhammad 'Ali and the Khedive Isma'il. The resulting literature, new in style, in content and in language, came into full flower during the second quarter of the twentieth century. As a result there now exists a vigorous, modern Arabic literature in which Egypt plays a leading role.

Ahmad Amin (1886-1954), the main interest of this thesis, held a position of acknowledged authority in these developments. He was born in Cairo of middle class, orthodox Muslim parents. His father, an Azharite shaykh, with a wisdom unusual among his colleagues, encouraged his son in wide reading. He instilled in him a respect for freedom of thought by giving him access to the Arabic classics without marginal commentaries so that an independence of judgment was fostered in his mind.

Ahmad Amin was successively student at Al-Azhar; student and teacher at *Madrasat al-Quda'a*; *Qadi* (lawyer) in the *Shari'ah* court; teacher and Dean in Cairo University; Cultural Director in Egypt and finally Cultural Director of the Arab League. His greatest contribution lay in his writings. His volumes on the history of Muslim thought have won wide academic recognition. His revealing autobiography, *Hayati* (My Life), mirrors in personal terms many of these general changes. In countless essays, appearing almost uninterruptedly for twenty-five years in various journals of the Arab world, he advocated a new literature, social reform and the reform of religious institutions such as Al-Azhar and the mosque. His services to these causes was not limited to his pen. For forty years he directed the efforts of *Lajnat al-Ta'lif*. As Cultural Director he strove to disseminate the new culture among the masses through the People's Cultural Foundation, of which he was the architect, by regular radio broadcasts, and through the creation of audio-visual materials which were shown in the villages and the compounds of industries.

Lajnat al-Ta'lif was the learned society of which Ahmad Amin was Chairman and guiding light from its genesis in 1914 until his death in 1954. It created tools for this new education by producing textbooks, reference books and the great classics of the West in Arabic. It also provided an outlet for experimentation in the new Arabic literature through the publication of writings in a variety of fields.

Sources for the study of Ahmad Amin and *Lajnat al-Ta'lif* are in Arabic. The writer covered a considerable portion of Ahmad Amin's works in the search for relevant information, and he went through a great number of the Arabic journals for which Ahmad Amin wrote. He has corresponded with Ahmad Amin personally, with the secretary of *Lajnat al-Ta'lif*, with the present Cultural Director of The Arab League and with professors in the departments of Arabic literature in the universities of Beirut and Damascus.

Paul Tillich's Eschatology and its Social Implications

MASATOSHI DOI [*Th.D.*]

The primary objective of this thesis has been to study Tillich's eschatological interpretation of history as the guiding principle of his philosophical theology. Since, however, the real test of a philosophy of history lies in its ability to answer the questions involved in our historical situation, we have tried in the last part of this thesis to clarify the social implications of Tillich's eschatology.

Tillich deals with theological issues chiefly in ontological terms. But he does not deal with the problem of being deductively either from "innate ideas," (Cartesian) or from sensory experience (Aristotelian-Thomistic). Rather, he deals with it phenomenologically, because he believes that "being itself" transcends the split between subjectivity and objectivity and, accordingly, cannot be grasped either by subjective reflection or by objective observation, but by phenomenological intuition. The phenomenological intuition of being, however, is impossible except through an analysis of man's historical existence. Therefore, Tillich believes, the primary task of an ontological theology is to analyze man's historical existence in its correlation with its ground. To speak in theological terms, this implies that one must view history in an eschatological perspective. For this reason we have presupposed that Tillich's eschatological interpretation of history is the guiding principle of his whole system.

This formulation by Tillich of his main theological theme—man's historical existence in correlation with its ground—is unique; but his philosophical theology is not original. He has drawn many ideas from different sources, e.g., Schelling, Kierkegaard, Marx, Kaehler, Husserl, Heidegger, etc. Therefore, in this thesis, especially in Chapter II, considerable effort has been made to clarify the philosophical background of Tillich's theology.

But Tillich's ontological theology is not simply a philosophical construction. He believes that man's historical existence, as the product of freedom, is inevitably a fragmentary and ambiguous actualization of its transcendent meaning; reason itself is deeply entangled in this existential ambiguity. Therefore, the only thing an ontological theology can do is to formulate questions involved in the human situation; at best it can give preliminary answers only to give rise to some other questions. An ultimate answer is given by revelation; it comes from beyond human existence. But revelation comes not as a strange doctrine from a strange

world as the Barthian would maintain; it comes as the answer to the questions implied in man's historical existence. Therefore, for Tillich, to deal with man's historical existence in correlation with its ground is equivalent to dealing with it in correlation with revelation. But revelation, in this case, is again interpreted in ontological terms. The revelation in Jesus as the Christ (a typical manner of expression for Tillich) is the boundary of the human situation. At this boundary, man realizes himself as both threatened and supported from beyond. The Protestant doctrine of *justificatio sola fide* gives witness to this situation.

Now turning to eschatology, phenomenological reduction reveals two fundamental qualities of being: "ultimate seriousness" and "ultimate insecurity." No being fulfills its own being, but each participates in absolute being. Applied to history, this principle means that every moment of history is both relative and absolute: absolute in the sense that it represents the inexhaustible ground of meaning, relative in that it is merely a fragmentary and ambiguous actualization of the ground of meaning and thus perpetually threatened by meaninglessness. This dialectical unity of the absolute and the relative points to the transcendent fulfillment of the meaning which is fragmentarily and ambiguously actualized in history. The Kingdom of God is the religious symbol for this situation. It appeared once for all in Jesus as the Christ insofar as in Him the existential ambiguities and uncertainties were definitively overcome; and it appears again and again throughout history, though fragmentarily, whenever the New Being discloses itself as conquering the threat of non-being. But no one can say anything definitely about the "where," "when," and "how" of the ultimate fulfillment, because it is beyond human understanding. Tillich's eschatology, therefore, is both ontological and theological. The doctrines of the Kingdom and the Last Judgment form the basis of his formulation of the two basic qualities of being: "ultimate seriousness" and "ultimate insecurity." Therefore, we may conclude that his eschatology is an "ontologizing" of eschatology and an "eschatologizing" of ontology at the same time. This prevents Tillich's ontological theology from falling into a heterodoxy.

Tillich also deals with ethical issues in ontological terms. In his opinion the moral task of a period is not to be seen simply in terms of universal values and principles, but as also embodying the historical will of God, for every moment of time which is filled with a definite task represents the essential structure of being which drives beyond itself and, as such, is irreversible. From this viewpoint an action is good which is done at a right time through a decision of faith. This is *Kairos*, a theme which was developed in Tillich's Religious Socialism. Yet his Religious Socialism failed, partly because of his unrealistic analysis of his time, but chiefly because of the drastic political changes in Germany between the

two world wars. A kairotic ethics, with its emphasis on the dynamic, existential aspect of man's moral life, can have a strong appeal to a disturbed society. But it has the danger of falling into dogmatism unless it is accompanied by a normative ethics. Tillich's newest book, *Love, Power, and Justice*, involves some concepts of normative value as he explains adequacy, equality, personality, and community as the four derivative principles of justice. Yet, his ontological ethics in its present form is too abstract to be of any great practical help. This abstractness comes from the fact that phenomenology, which is his theological method, is essentially a process of simplification and abstraction, for it attempts to grasp the essential meaning of things and events by "bracketing" all theories and facts obtained through a naturalistic approach. But what we have to deal with in our daily life are concrete facts full of particularities, and not abstract essences. Here is an unsurpassable limit of Tillich's ontological ethics.

Tillich's bipolar ontology has given him a dimension in which to synthesize two contrasting philosophical trends: the Apollonian and the Dionysian, the rationalistic and the dynamic. This is probably the greatest achievement he has made in religious thinking. But, in spite of his strong social concern, his distaste for empiricism has prevented him from reaching a position from which to tackle social issues effectively. After all, he is a German philosopher-theologian. It is rather a remarkable thing that he has so little adapted himself to the American way of thinking after more than twenty years' stay in this country.

The Scottish Covenanters, 1638-1689: A Study in the Political Implications of their Theological Literature

JAMES DIXON DOUGLAS [*Ph.D., magna cum laude*]

The opening section of this thesis deals with the historical beginnings of the Scottish Covenants. It shows briefly the rise of liberal ideas in opposition to the Stuart theory of the Divine Right of Kings, and discusses the assertion of the latter theory by James VI and Charles I. In Scotland this chiefly took the form of an attempt to substitute Episcopacy for Presbyterianism as the national religion. James partly succeeded in this design, but Charles went too far, with the result that the Scottish people rebelled. They consolidated their own form of Church government, and swore to uphold it in the National Covenant of 1638. The political and legal implications of the latter are discussed. The account then deals with the Solemn League and Covenant and the events leading up to the death of Charles I and the proclamation of his son as King of Scotland, while Cromwell had gained supremacy in England and Ireland.

Chapter II is concerned briefly with the writings of George Gillespie and Samuel Rutherford, the first two Covenanting apologists, who stoutly denied the authority of the civil power in spiritual matters, and defended the right of a people to rebel against a tyrannical ruler. Gillespie's *Aaron's Rod Blossoming* and Rutherford's *Lex Rex* are discussed at some length. There follows an evaluation of the contribution made by the early Covenanters to the cause of religious liberty.

In Chapter III, Charles' dealings with the Scots between 1649 and 1651 are dealt with, and we hear of a schism in the ranks of the Scottish Church: those who advocated a rigid adherence to the principles of the Covenants broke away from the moderate Presbyterians. Some account is given of these two parties, Protesters and Resolutioners respectively, showing their main points of difference. With the departure of Charles into exile and the advent of the Cromwellian troops in Scotland, the general position is reviewed, and the thesis devotes some space to the life and views of James Guthrie, the spokesman of the Protesters.

Thereafter in Chapter IV the story is concerned with the return of Charles II, the problems facing his Government, the first martyrs, the imposition of Episcopacy on the country, and the suppression of Presbyterianism, leading to the ejection of some 300 ministers from their charges for non-compliance with the royal mandates. The work of John Brown of

Wamphray is then set forth, showing his relation to earlier Covenanter writers, and outlining his advocacy of defensive war in general. Mention is then made of James Mitchell, who tried to pass from the justification of armed rebellion to the justification of assassination by private individuals.

Chapter V is concerned with the first rebellion of the people against royal absolutism, the writings of Stewart and Stirling in defense of the rebels, and a comparison between the newly-established Episcopal Church and the former Presbyterian establishment, between the Episcopal clergy and the ousted ministers. The account shows how the Governmental policy of savage suppression only served to make wild men wilder, changed moderate men into rebels, and precipitated the second major uprising of Charles' reign in 1679. The Sanquhar and Torwood Declarations and various other Covenanting manifestoes are discussed, and the Covenanters' reasons given for rejecting the Indulgences offered by the Government. Accounts are given of the persecuting tactics of the Royalists.

Chapter VI goes further into detail about the various utterances by which the Covenanters sought to justify their stand, and how the cause of civil and that of religious liberty were inevitably linked. The death of Charles II is followed by an analysis of his character and aims, showing why these were at odds with the rebels. Then comes an account of James VII's brief reign, and of how his Roman Catholic and autocratic tendencies led up to the invasion of William of Orange in 1688. The life and work of James Renwick are also discussed in this chapter.

The thesis concludes with a summary of the aims and claims of the Covenanters, a criticism of certain aspects of their stand, and the assertion that in spite of flaws in their position, history has abundantly confirmed the cause for which they fought and from which posterity has immeasurably benefited: the right of a people to defend their spiritual liberty against State absolutism.

A Program of Christian Education for India

(WITH REFERENCE TO THE MAR THOMA CHURCH)

THARAYIL JOHN [*Ed. R.D.*]

India has a rich heritage of religious education going back to the dawn of history. But the present situation demands a more organized and systematic approach utilizing the findings of educational psychology. This study aims to analyse some of the major problems confronting the church in the field of religious education, to indicate ways of facing them and to suggest a program with special reference to the Mar Thoma Church.

The author has made a brief survey of the history of religious education in India touching on the Hindu, Buddhist, Islamic and Christian education and has pointed out the impact of the ancient Hindu education on Christian education. He has tried to show how the political, religious, and social conditions affect Christian education. The defects of the existing educational system are discussed. Next he has suggested a program for the different age levels, preschool through adult, and for the different areas of life such as sex, marriage and family, vocation, labour and economics, and church membership. It offers special guidance for parents, college students, war service men, professional people and for the aged. The courses of study include a discussion on the needs, interests and capacities of the group concerned, the curriculum, the method of procedure, appropriate educational activities and experiences, help for worship and a list of resource materials. His conclusions include suggestions to improve (a) the general program, (b) the curriculum, (c) the teaching procedures, (d) the organization and administration and (e) the leadership training.

The Early Church Institutional and Dynamic

GWILYM RHYS JONES AP ROBERT [*Ph.D.*]

From the time of the early Milesian philosophers men have seen in life an interaction of opposites. In the Church there can be found an "institutional" tendency and a "dynamic" tendency, and the two exist largely in antithesis to each other. In principle, these tendencies do

not rest on value judgment. The terms are terms of description, not of valuation. They are used in much the same way as the literary critic uses "classical" and "romantic." The difference between them is typified by the contrast between priest and prophet; but the analysis which we have undertaken is not limited to the nature of the ministry. The two tendencies are of such a fundamental character that they invade the whole life of the Church, manifesting themselves in its faith, order, and practice. If it were possible for a Christian to be exclusively institutional, he would, in our mind have the following characteristics: in matters of faith, he would soberly assume the temporal order to be an enduring reality; he would view God as Ruler, and as One who acts through tradition on the "horizontal" plane of human history; he would conceive Christ as Lawgiver and the Founder of an institution, the Holy Spirit as a Power working through accredited and tangible channels, and Divine grace as a force invested in the Church and regulated by its official ministry; the Church itself he would regard as a permanent organization; his doctrinal beliefs would be inherited, and would conform to precise written standards; in matters of order, his Church would be consolidated universally by a supreme, legally authorized government, and locally by a hierarchy of office-bearers; in matters of practice, his moral conduct would be determined by a casuistic code of written precepts, and his acts of worship would consist in the observance of timely, valid, and orderly ceremonial rites. If it were possible for a Christian to be exclusively dynamic, we would ascribe to him such characteristics as these: in matters of faith, he would be quickened to a sense of crisis by the belief that he lived in the Eschatological Age; he would view God intimately, and as One who stood in a direct "perpendicular" relationship to him; he would regard Christ as a personal Saviour, and would derive inspiration through a sense of communion with Him; his conception of the Holy Spirit would be that of a Power descending aggressively and irresistibly on men, bestowing upon them gifts of Divine grace; he would think of the Church as a spiritual fellowship; his doctrinal beliefs would be determined by his religious experience; in matters of order—and here the term order is used loosely—his Church would be sustained by a ministry whose sole authority rested on a claim to the possession of gifts; in matters of practice, his moral conduct would be the intuitive application of broad spiritual principles, his acts of worship would be spontaneous and pneumatic, and his general behavior would be characterized by an aggressive, evangelical enthusiasm. The contrast between the institutional and the dynamic is a contrast between sobriety and enthusiasm, continuity and renewal, legalism and liberty, uniformity and individuality, conventionality and originality, externalism and internalism, formality and informality, consolidation and expansion. Our task has been to determine to what extent such factors enter into the life of the Early Church.

Our *terminus a quo* is the ministry of Jesus, our *terminus ad quem* the death of Hippolytus circa A.D. 236. Our main sources are the Canonical New Testament, the Apostolic Fathers, the Apologists, certain Apocryphal New Testament writings, a few early *Martyria*, and the works of Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and Hippolytus. The field has been divided into four periods: (1) The Ministry of Jesus to A.D. 90; (2) A.D. 90 to A.D. 140; (3) A.D. 140 to A.D. 180; and (4) A.D. 180 to A.D. 236. In each period we have examined the material first from the standpoint of the institutional and then from the standpoint of the dynamic, in both cases dividing the evidence into the categories of faith, order, and practice. In the first period there were found to be certain institutional tendencies; no form of community could exist without some cohesive factors. But the Christianity of the Apostolic age was of an emphatically dynamic nature. In the second period the Church became more resigned to its earthly situation and began to acquire more definite ecclesiastical features. This was attended by a decline in some aspects of the dynamic, though there were Christians who retained in large measure the enthusiasm and pneumatism of the first generation. In the third period the contemporary sources proved to be of limited value. In the final period it became quite evident that the Church, over the latter part of the second century and the early decades of the third, developed most of the basic element of normative ecclesiasticism. This did not quench the dynamic within the Church, though it frequently constricted it and banished the most exuberant forms of enthusiasm outside the orthodox tradition. In the first generation the institutional was more characteristic of Jewish Christianity, the dynamic more characteristic of Gentile. In later years the institutional was most evident in Rome, the dynamic most evident in Asia Minor. Whatever judgment be passed on particular aspects of these two tendencies, without an institutional framework of some sort the Church would have lost its identity, and without a measure of the dynamic the Church would neither have come into being nor continued to exist. The subsequent history of the Church reveals that the tension between these two poles is an inescapable feature of the religious life.